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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WORK EXPERIENCE IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT, A DISCUSSION PAPER PREPARED FOR THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION, DIVISION OF ADULT AND VOCATIONAL RESEARCH.

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THE NUMBER OF ADOLESCENTS ENGAGED IN SUPERVISED WORK EXPERIENCE OR WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS THAT PRESUMABLY HAVE BUILT-IN "MEANING" IS QUITE SMALL. ALTHOUGH IT IS CLAIMED THAT MEANINGFUL WORK EXPERIENCE FOR STUDENTS INCREASES THE HOLDING POWER OF THE SCHOOL, BUILDS CHARACTER, DEVELOPS DESIRABLE HABITS AND ATTITUDES, AND PROVIDES VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION, RESEARCH EVIDENCE ON THE EFFICIENCY OF WORK EXPERIENCE AS EDUCATIONAL OR THERAPEUTIC IS LACKING. IF POSITIVE OUTCOMES EMERGE FROM WORK EXPERIENCE, THEY ARE PRIMARILY FINANCIAL OR OTHERWISE INSTRUMENTAL. THIS INSTRUMENTABILITY, HOWEVER, IS CONNECTED WITH INDEPENDENCE, MATURITY, AND RESPONSIBILITY. MEETING ROLE-MODELS, KEY FIGURES, AND VOCATIONALLY SUCCESSFUL PEOPLE MAY BE JUST AS IMPORTANT AS ANY OTHER EXPERIENCE. IN DEVELOPING OR EXPANDING WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS, IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT THE AVAILABILITY OF WORK SLOTS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR OF BUSINESS IS QUITE RESTRICTED, AND THAT, ALTHOUGH THE GREATEST NUMBER OF POSSIBILITIES EXIST IN PUBLIC OR NON-PROFIT SETTINGS, THERE IS A DEARTH OF INHERENTLY MEANINGFUL JOBS IN BOTH SECTORS. THUS THE BURDEN IS ON THE COORDINATOR AND OTHER ADULTS TO USE ALL KINDS OF JOBS AND "IMPART" MEANING TO THEM BY BEING STRAIGHTFORWARD IN SPELLING OUT THE FACTS SUCH AS DRUDGERY, ACCEPTANCE OF CRITICISM, AND TOLERANCE FOR SUPERVISION. IT IS THE CONNECTION, THE RELATIONSHIP, OR THE FACT OF LIFE WHICH GIVES THE EXPERIENCE MEANING, NOT THE TASK WHICH HAS INHERENT MEANING. COORDINATORS AND JOB SUPERVISORS NEED TO RECEIVE SPECIAL TRAINING. FOR COORDINATORS, THIS MAY BE IN WORKSHOPS AT FIRST, BUT EVENTUALLY CAREER SPECIALIZED TRAINING IS ESSENTIAL. (PS)

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF WORK EXPERIENCE IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

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The purpose of this paper is to provide perspective on the significance of real or simulated work experience in the development of the adolescent. While this involves consideration of how effective development takes place without "real" work experience, the fulcrum of the work-study program enables us to shift the discussion from a critique of the pure curriculum to the pure job, and to appropriate mixes. The present effort, then, is to use the generic work-study program as a point of departure for a selective review of desirable educational outcomes, of strategies for preparing a wide range of students for effective adult functioning, of conceptual, programmatic and staffing problems that emerge from such a review and, finally, to present specific recommendations as bases for discussion rather than as considered judgments.

One premise of this paper is that the school and the curriculum as presently constituted do not provide adequate developmental experiences for large numbers of secondary school students in America. If suitable changes are to be made they must assume the primacy of the school as the socializing and developmental agent for the vast majority of adolescents. Thus, the enlargement of the range of developmental experiences in and out of school must assume that the school acts as the coordinator, the integrator and the synthesizer of these experiences.

Numerous writers have pointed up the stultifying nature of secondary school experience for large numbers of youth who tune out at various points in their teens, including the many whose superficial conformity enables them to

graduate with limited skills and with a somewhat pathetic faith in the diploma. There is a growing consensus that at least for the potential dropout and the general course graduate, but also for numerous others in the academic, commercial and vocational curricula, something new must be provided to prepare them for work as well as to maximize general education.

This paper focuses on the way in which work experience, broadly conceived, may contribute to the new range of strategies to help motivate, educate and develop a wide range of youth. To place the potential value of work experience in context, however, necessitates brief comment on some reasons for inability to learn, lack of interest and motivation, and widespread resignation or alienation. In addition to educational retardation which typically increases in secondary school, the lack of intrinsic meaning in the curriculum is not compensated by sufficiently strong or clear evidence of extrinsic value (such as specific job preparation) and thus the hopelessness and meaningless for one large cohort is perpetuated. It must be noted, however, that for considerable numbers of students there is intrinsic meaning in the curriculum as is--that is, inherent interest in learning the various school subjects as now taught. For others, the extrinsic rewards and returns (diploma, college entrance requirements, clerical skills) are sufficient to enlist their energies and attention, even if the actual outcomes are not as great as desired (low measured achievement).

While it is true that in the long run learning and knowledge may be pursued for pleasure, it is not vulgar pragmatism to understand and accept the general desire of adolescents to know the value or usefulness or meaning or relationship of their school experiences. So it is of major importance to indicate the fragmentation of the curriculum itself, the frequent failure of teachers, counselors and parents to provide understanding of how the curriculum relates to life, how each subject relates to the others, how school tasks and rewards relate to "real" tasks and rewards--the connections are not very clear to most

students. While these are important problems for even many bright and motivated youngsters, the search for order and meaning is especially difficult where there is no educational tradition in the home or where basic skills are poor; and the problems are accentuated by departmental (unconnected) scheduling, by increasing desire to participate physically and socially as an adult and by persistently unmet needs to acquire practical, focused, selected vocational skills.

The significance of work experience in adolescence may well be that it provides meaning, connection, relationship and activity at a time and in a context when nothing else is available. However, a mere outline of the several approaches to work experience in schools (not to mention work which is in no way connected with the school) shows that the articulation of the experience rather than its availability is probably the most important factor. The possible approaches are: (a) Additive--the work is merely added to the school day, for pay, for credit, etc.; (b) Substitutive--one or more courses or school requirements replaced by work for credit (with or without pay); (c) Integrative--work is consciously and purposefully seen as integrating prior, current and future educational and life experiences.

The over-all problem of this paper may now be posed more pointedly in the form of several sets of questions:

1. What is the meaning of work experience? Is it as vocational training? As character development? As substitute for ineffective academic experience? As incentive, motivator, relief from boredom? As integrative experience? As financial necessity?
2. Is work experience a temporary panacea for what may have to be remedied in the curriculum itself and thus subject to eventual discard or is it a legitimate long-range objective to make it a permanent part of the curriculum? Does everyone require a "real" work experience or does the reality of school itself and its potential for providing many new simulated

experiences (including work simulation) suffice for most students? The crucial question in effect is: Isn't school itself "real"; cannot its reality have much greater educational value?

3. What are the desired behavioral outcomes of schooling which are especially significant for future career development? To what extent does school itself best prepare for work? Conversely, to what extent does a work experience in adolescence have much greater value for personal than for vocational development? Such paradoxes are inherent in the nature of transformational experiences and processes.

These questions reflect the concern of the present writer with the transformational character of education, in that it does not replicate the real world, that it is not isomorphic, and yet, is capable of preparing one adequately for the "real" world. From verbal through schematic through symbolic through pictorial through simulated is the pathway of the pilot, the submarine commander and the physician. How relevant this is to the mechanic, the clerk, the whole range of occupations is best answered by exploring new ways of transformation rather than by simplistic efforts to reproduce reality or to change the venue of education. These considerations are helpful signposts in the exploration of work experience; the literature is all too rife with categorical denunciation of the impractical, meaningless, dull (presumably forever) character of the curriculum for so many students and the value of "real" experience is the remedy.

Before examining the concepts of work experience, and reviewing the programs, the claims, the evidence of effectiveness, and the implication for curriculum development, it is appropriate to indicate the scope of work experience (unrelated to school) in the high school years.

From the time (only 50 years ago) when work was the primary function of adolescents to the time when it is an incidental aspect of the lives of 14 to 17-year olds, their removal from the production system to the preparation system has led

to the present critical period when most of them neither produce nor prepare. The extent of their participation in work in 1964 was in some ways impressive: 41 per cent worked, 59 per cent did not. Of the 41 per cent, one fifth worked full time but the vast majority of these were obviously in summer jobs (less than 13 weeks). Again, of the 41 per cent who worked, four-fifths were part-time workers, of whom nearly half worked less than 13 weeks, but nearly a fourth worked all year. (Special Labor Force Report No. 62, 1966, "Work Experience of the Population in 1964"). We know that farmwork and babysitting were the single most common occupations; and we know that there is no correlation between need and job availability but it is to go beyond the data and beyond the scope of the present paper to detail the meaning of work experience for those who did work. It is worth noting, however, that dropouts have had considerably less part-time work experience than stay-ins.

Even if work experience is more common than many suspect, it is still a minor aspect of adolescent development. If we now consider the number engaged in supervised work experience or work-study programs that presumably have built-in "meaning," it is quite small. (The estimates are inadequate.)

Let us also bear in mind that prior to the age of 14 there is generally speaking (regional and class variations allowed) very little work experience and very limited performance of chores or other responsibilities. There are, of course, schools, clubs, scouting, games and athletics, church and many other organized or informal avenues for learning responsibility, persistence, task orientation, etc. It is generally felt, however, that for large groups of children these learnings are not well developed by 14, and that in the high school years we are manifestly failing to build citizenship, positive work attitudes, etc. Having successfully removed most of the dangers of unhealthy or premature work from the growing years we now seek a cut-off point, alternately postponing the time when young people may enter the labor market and pushing it back so that they may

get more of what we have so assiduously sought to protect them from.

The problem is complex, the response frequently quite simple: "meaningful work experience." The operational word, "meaningful" has absorbed a range of connotations from "hard," therefore character-building, to "real," therefore meeting the need for previewing the real world, to income-producing, to socially useful to interesting. The proposed vehicle (leaving aside the vast majority of actual part-time jobs described above) is the school-work program, the cooperative education program, work-study, etc. with school supervision and coordination essential aspects. For the remainder of this paper, except as otherwise noted, work-study will be used as the generic term for all these types of programs.

What is most strange to behold as one considers the multi-claims for "meaningful" work experience for students as increasing the holding power of the school, building character, developing habits and attitudes and providing vocationa orientation is the fact that "meaningful" work is apparently what is disappearing from the grasp of increasing numbers of high school graduates. Venn and others point out that the lot of many drop-outs and graduates is a dull, dead-end, meaningless job. Paul Goodman points to the corrupt society that gives young people jobs where the contact is primarily with shoddy materials, low work standards, etc. A great many service jobs which fulfill highly altruistic functions (hospitals) are repetitive, dirty, etc. Although this point will be discussed in the closing section, it is important that perspective on "meaningful" work-study programs be provided now so that the euphemism is supplanted by hard analysis of objectives. The question is, to anticipate, why should the relative minority of interesting, purposeful jobs in the total occupational structure be given (even in small numbers to the least competitive candidates--school children?

And yet there is almost a religious fervor in the ritualistic phrases which recur in practically every list of benefits issued by the advocates of work experier

and which claim everything from income to redemption. Some typical samples follow:

I. from Education Through Work Experience, effects on student personality.

1. Work experience teaches responsibility.
2. Work experience develops initiative
3. Work experience instills confidence.
4. It gives the student an opportunity to earn money, thus a sense of independence and security is gained.
5. It permits the student to learn the value of money by handling money he has earned.
6. The money earned helps the student provide for his needs and develops self-esteem.
7. Work experience develops a respect for law through a guided contact with labor laws.
8. It teaches youth to work with others in an adult world.
9. Young people learn the meaning of standards.
10. Punctuality and regularity are given new meanings.
11. A sense of value is developed.
12. Work has been found to have a certain therapeutical value.
13. Working with people develops a respect and understanding for the worker.

While some of these are more promising than others, very little either in this publication or any others spells out the details of these glittering generalities.

II. from the standard text-book in the field, Ivins and Runge, Work Experience in High School, Ronald, 1951.

PRIMARY OBJECTIVES FOR HIGH SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE

1. The promotion of good student attitudes toward work.
2. The promotion of good student work habits.
3. The encouragement of desirable traits of character.
4. The promotion of feelings of self-respect and achievement in students.
5. The promotion of cooperative attitudes in students.
6. The promotion of student guidance, including some vocational preparation.
7. Making possible a limited supervised introduction of students to the activities and demands of the normal work world.

SECONDARY OBJECTIVES FOR HIGH SCHOOL WORK EXPERIENCE

1. Promotion of good employee-employer or worker-work supervisor relationships.
2. Development of job intelligence and imagination in student workers.
3. Development of student competence in the management of personal finances.
4. Development of specific vocational skills in students.
5. Motivation of school nonwork experience program.
6. Development of interest in the school's regular or nonwork experience program in those students who respond best or only to real-life situations.
7. Development of general, elementary vocational skills.

To demonstrate the looseness of conceptualization, the consequent difficulty in research and evaluation, elsewhere these authors affirm that "work experience has transfer value for the vocational development of youth."

> Numerous significant articles have been published which seem to bear out this assumption. One of them, in particular, summarizes thinking on the question by stating that transfer of values in one kind of work experience will indeed be made over to another in vocational training. The writer states this certainty, although he cannot describe the exact manner or degree of transfer. He indicates the relatedness of this idea to the well-established general principle of transfer of learning: transfer can be accomplished, but only as the attachment of meaning (the indication of transfer to be made from one situation to another) affects its degree.

It should be noted that 15 years later very little in the way of better or clearer research evidence exists.

Detailed descriptions of programs may be found in a variety of sources, the most extensive inventory appearing in "Profile of Youth--1963," U. S. GPO, 1963 What is clear from all the literature is that the numbers of youth in work-study programs is quite small, that follow-up is rare, critical self-evaluation unusual, objective research very rare, even the basic data ambiguous. The typical quality of a self-evaluation is: ". . . as good as they felt their classroom training is, the gain much in added knowledge and skills they never could receive in the classroom. (Phoenix Business Work-Experience Program) Burchill's "Work-Study Programs for Alienated Youth" contains descriptions of a number of important programs but hard data is noteworthy by its absence. Benjamin's study for the National Committee on Employment of Youth is probably the best survey but cannot produce data that is not there to begin with. Perhaps the best generalization is the one that Herman and Sadofsky make in a different context. ". . . the profusion of loosely-conceived, imprecisely stated objectives which permit great latitude for individual interpretation." (Youth-Work Programs, NYU, 1966)

It is interesting and perhaps to be expected that the best evaluations of work-study programs are of college-level cooperative programs--Antioch, Penn, Northeastern, etc. (See publications of the National Commission for Cooperative

Education, dealing solely with colleges.) Louba, for example, in "Effective Learning and Cooperative Education" says,

> A related and more readily actualized value of the cooperative plan for effective learning resides in a generally increased motivation, independence, responsibility, and self-confidence as students live on their own as adults in a variety of places and earn their own living. The increased motivation comes in part as they observe differences in the way of life of people with and without adequate general and vocational education. They want with increasing conviction to identify with the people who have a higher education.
>
> This increased educational motivation, together with the equally inevitable increase in independence, self-confidence, and responsibility for one's own life is likely to lead away from narrow, rote, book learning to the meaningful learning, previously described as more likely to lead to effective remembering.
>
> A student on the cooperative plan is more likely, I think, not just to study a book because it has been assigned, but to ask himself, as he studies it: just how is this related to my better understanding of men or of their environments.

Pallone in a recent study, "College, Work and Self-Ideal Congruence," concludes that there is greater congruence between the self-concept (perceptual self) and self-ideal (aspirational self) amongst college freshmen with vocationally related work experience than in non-work or "casual" work experience freshmen. Objective data of any kind, however, is so rare in this domain that citing such a study gives one a heady feeling.

The lack of research or other objective evidence which may be subjected to comparative analysis should not obscure the fact that many experienced teachers, counselors, employment specialists, and others have accumulated a body of empirical data which despite its impressionistic emphasis should be helpful in future curriculum development. In fact, the positive and negative outcomes of work experience as reported should not be seen as proof but as the bases for formulating hypotheses. Even the listings that appear above may be useful if supplemented selectively to provide the substance of what the presumed and observed effects of all kinds of work experience are on adolescents.

Thus Dale Harris emphasizes the primary significance of part-time work as transition to adult status; this needs to be considered in the context of the total problem of discontinuity in the student's life. Dillon, in one of the most important studies of the effects of a work-study program (despite the fact that the results are

based entirely on questionnaires) indicates that the opportunity to make real mistakes where promotion and pay are involved rather than just school grades is of great importance in terms of skill development. He also finds a significant development of "confidence and social maturity" (unspecified). If, in addition, we consider his and others' negative findings a balanced perspective on the problem may emerge. Dillon indicates that the major problem with such programs is the reluctance of employers. Making jobs available is almost entirely a function of labor market conditions rather than of educational needs. We may well ask whether a curtailed occupational distribution is an effective sample of "reality."

Super suggests the great value of the exploratory possibilities of part-time and vacation work for career choices and goes on to specify the development of "mature work habits" as highly desirable outcomes; regularity, punctuality, responsibility, meeting deadlines, providing an opportunity to mix with adults, testing of one's aptitudes and interests, traveling to work, dressing for work, etc. He is very careful to indicate the negatives: the frequently unrelated job, unrelated to anything else in the student's life except financial need; the likelihood that he will get a "worms eye" view of the work; very little orientation or chance to observe a variety of jobs or an explanation of the whole job or operation; the limited transfer value.

Other writers agree that pre-eminent dangers are the employer's desire for cheap labor or other problems of exploitation but it is apparent from personal observation and from detailed, frank experiences of numerous experts and coordinators that typically, schools come to employers cap in hand and are usually loathe to be very critical or spoil "school-community relations." Aside from gross exploitation, the most important consideration may well be how many jobs are "meaningful." Here the consensus is that most are not but that it is important for young people to experience routine, drudgery, repetitiveness, etc. because this is indeed the "real world." The fact that so many young people are themselve

willing to overlook the nature of the job itself in favor of the extrinsic returns is the best evidence perhaps that the romantic infusion of the concept of "meaningful" may be a basic deterrent to the development of work experience as education. We shall return to this point again.

Perhaps the weakest (or strongest) point of any work-study program (here distinguished from independently obtained work) is the coordinator, whose function ranges from clerical custodian to true counselor, integrator, educator. The regional variations, the personal styles, the usual lack of specialized training for this role, the arbitrariness of the appointment, etc. are too well-known. The greatest difficulty is the fact that the coordinator usually coordinates at most the student and the job, the school and the employer, but rarely is there extensiv coordination of work experience and academic studies. Where there is, it is most likely to be in the vocationally related studies or basic English or math skills. The lack of imagination and creativity in true educational integration is most notable.

We may generalize at this point, prior to a full examination of the implications, including other data as we proceed. If positive outcomes emerge from work experience, they are primarily financial or otherwise instrumental. This very instrumentality is connected, however, with independence and maturity and responsibility and cannot easily be separated. The orientational, attitudinal, character-development aspects of work cannot as easily be averred. As for its educational value, meeting role-models, key figures, vocationally successful people may be as important as any other experience. But the strengthening of work-study bonds is most apparent where the connection between the job and the school course is clearest (distributive education, certain mechanical jobs, etc.). Possibly the most successful examples of work-study programs are in those cases where they are needed <u>least</u>, that is, where the students have fairly good understanding of their vocational goals and the job is a bonus. The fact is that

there is considerable screening in many programs and those who need it the most are not permitted to report to the employer. (This is even a problem in special programs for disadvantaged or alienated youth.) Many cooperative programs may be called blue-ribbon programs, reserved for "good kids." The weakest links are frequently the coordinators, the absence of intrinsically "meaningful" jobs thus not being adequately corrected by careful educational discussions of the meaning of routine, boring jobs.

If it were not basic common sense that work is a necessary and vital aspect of our lives, we might pursue at greater length than necessary the implications of the lack of research evidence on the efficiency of work experience as educational or therapeutic. It should be noted that the best research efforts to examine the effects of work experience on attitudes, personality and employability have been in the field of vocational rehabilitation, specifically in the use of sheltered workshops. Here, for example, work attitudes have been more carefully dimensionalized than anywhere else.

Although the foregoing is far from a comprehensive review of the significance of work experience in adolescent development, it is surely suggestive and illustrative of the conceptual and methodological problems which must be dealt with Furthermore, while it is beyond the scope of the present paper to indicate in detail the desired behavior outcomes of secondary education in terms of eventual job performance, strategies for developing such objectives (beyond the mere cataloguing that now pervades the literature) do emerge from our review. In fact, if one bears in mind the eight criteria for a well-designed vocational curriculum (DAVR position paper, June 12, 1966), it is possible to organize the many desired vocational behavior outcomes in these terms.

It may be most helpful to illustrate the way in which a trait which may be considered a desirable characteristic of an effective worker may be specified, then traced through the developmental span into the secondary school and into the

work-experience program or possible alternatives. If we consider the global virtue, "positive attitude toward work," we may find that this is composed of a range of attitudes such as tolerance for drudgery or repetitiveness, or perhaps task persistence. White, in one of his papers on competency, states,

> Work requires a certain constancy of effort. There must be sustained endeavor with control of wayward impulses that distract from the requirements of external reality and social roles. There must be a capacity for persistent attention to tasks, sometimes dull in themselves, that form part of the job requirements or that belong in a long-range plan to achieve remote goals.

The great variations in child-rearing practices, in social and family attitudes towards persistence, including the strain to avoid drudgery because it is so much a part of one's life, emerge in the development of impulse control and of constraints, the selective use of energies, and in notions of goal-directed behavior at successive levels. These and other factors are present in kindergarten children to greater or lesser degrees as aspects of a behavior syndrome with task persistence at its core.

Certain distinctions between deprived and middle-class children are relevant here: in the early grades deprived children are often superficially alert, responsive and "bright-eyed." But they are often really restless, impulsive, non task-oriented, and the teacher finds that controlling wayward impulses occupies her time increasingly until the children are eventually tamed into a kind of controlled apathy with management superseding teaching until the adolescent period loosens the controls again. Despite the fact that the disadvantaged adolescent may now have to face jobs involving drudgery and toil, the habit or motive for persisting in drill or repetition (whether of verbal or manipulative tasks) has not been developed in the school, nor elsewhere. If a particular deprived or disadvantaged youngster is considered eligible for a work program, then his resistance to monotonous work may be even stronger than for a middle class boy whose family despises repetitive work and who himself deplores it but who can withstand it because he knows it won't last, he can see its place in a total goal structure,

no one has to spell this out for him. Its "meaningfulness" is in terms of supplementary earnings, perhaps learning something about his father's business, joking with his friends, enjoying the different social milieu, etc. For the first boy income may not, paradoxically, be enough . . . if there is no perceivable goal or outcome then the ability to develop task persistence is quite limited.

To illustrate further: the manual developed by the New York State Education Department for STEP, School to Employment Programs (for potential dropouts) spells out typical daily orientation lesson plans for the coordinator. For example--HOLDING THE JOB (Topic 8): knowing first what your task is and then doing it; Accepting supervision and criticism; doing your best; Avoiding repeated error; Working as part of a team; Learning more than your specific job, where possible; Accepting responsibilities willingly. Or Topic 11, HOW TO MEASURE SUCCESS ON THE JOB: The satisfaction of doing a job well; Learning new skills and operations; The pleasure of doing something you like; The wages you make and the chances for advancement; Learning to work with others.

Although the foregoing needs to be implemented by coordinators who obviously develop the topics, there is nothing anywhere in the manual which deals with monotony or drudgery. There is, in fact, something seductive about the promises made about work which can only lead to further alienation and distrust. In sharp contrast is the specific concern about this whole problem in the program of Mobilization for Youth (The Recruitment and Training of Crew Chiefs in the Urban Youth Work Corps, by Dan DeWees and Robert Schrank):

> Resistance to repetitive work is characteristic of our trainees. Certain work tasks are, of course, inherently repetitive: sanding, cleaning tables in the luncheonette, etc. Some necessary work is dirty and tedious. The crew chief simply reiterates the necessity of these tasks. Trying to seduce the trainee or to disguise the distasteful aspects with some alleged reward merely antagonizes the trainee. Crew chiefs who have tried these dishonest tactics are soon found out. In this connection, it is important that work which is unattractive not be used as punishment. Our trainees have often seen certain kinds of work as punitive.

We may see in this example a number of possibilities for simulated work tasks in the school which can then be used only if they are explicitly detailed and related to actual repetitive tasks in everyday life. The effort to make learning "fun" often discourages such realistic relating but just as inhibiting is the lack of information on the part of many teachers of the nature of jobs which can be connected. What is necessary, therefore, is not only a realistic orientation to many jobs, but to important commonalities in jobs, in training programs, etc. The awareness of repetitiveness, its illustration, its place in a goal-system enables the student (of whatever background) to develop appropriate coping strategies. Games, hobbies (such as the routine of collecting), school tasks, basketball practice, etc., may all be used. The mastery of cognitive tasks, for example, needs to be justified to the student and related as part of larger achievements, not as self-evident. Dull, repetitive practice in shooting fouls is not perceived that way if the outcome is clear. Perceiving the outcome of any number of school tasks involving memorizing or drill is just as possible for most children.

What is of utmost importance, however, and here the prototype of the work-study coordinator is helpful, is the explicit, honest, straightforward spelling out of the facts. It is the connection, the relationship, or the fact of life which gives the experience meaning, not the task which has inherent meaning. It is the allowing for emotional and affective processes, for fear and hostility towards changing one's mode of dealing with repetitive tasks by avoidance and escape, which is the essence of the guidance function here. It should be clear from this example that similar detailed analysis of "responsibility," "acceptance of criticism," "tolerance for supervision," etc. are all needed. Project 34

But the development of a suitable work location for a work-study program without preparation in advance and without continuing coordination and integration will rob the work experience of its potential.

Our major concern is two-fold: how to use the work experience as a planned aspect of development and how to analyze work so as to derive those elements and clusters of commonality which may be used in generating new types of experience in or out of the school to accomplish the purposes of work experience. Inasmuch as the chances of work experience being effective without coordination have been demonstrated to be limited, then it follows that the emphasis may well be on how the experience is integrated rather than the character or quality of the experience itself.

What follows is a series of suggestions for developing, strengthening or expanding work-study programs; and a series of related suggestions for the use of other experiences or devices for accomplishing the same purposes. It is in this section that the implications of the analysis of the problem of work-study programs will hopefully provide us with a realistic context for good planning. The fact is that in the foreseeable future the number of "real" work slots is probably quite limited and after we review the potential here, we will need to direct ourselves to suitable alternatives.

(1) First, with respect to availability of work slots: the private sector is generally recognized by cooperative education people, by urban experts and by others as quite restricted. Whatever industry and business may do in the way of training and community service, its capacity for absorbing students is limited and its desire to do so likewise. We may find that the best opportunities exist in large, well-organized, socially-minded corporations on the one hand and small, marginal firms on the other. In between, for example, are department stores for whom this kind of program is an indispensable aspect of its operation and recruiting.

(2) There is general agreement that the greatest number of possibilities exist in public or non-profit settings. (Detailed lists have been prepared by the Department of Labor in connection with the Neighborhood Youth Corps.)

Here the labor shortage is acute, the services essential, the possibility of cooperation and coordination maximal. Hospitals, schools, social welfare agencies--police, transit, public works operations abound in such work opportunities. However, as in the case of private industry, the pressures come from budget, unions, lack of supervisors and trainers, to restrict even these possibilities. Supervision of trainees is expensive, even though the ultimate rewards may be great; and we find paradoxes where budget freezes impede potential personnel economies through hiring of students.

(3) In either private or non-profit sectors, however, there is a dearth of inherently meaningful jobs. Thus the burden is on the coordinator, the job supervisor and other adults (teachers, non-supervisory workers on job locations) to use all kinds of jobs and impart meaning to them. Specifically, coordinators and job supervisors need to receive special training; otherwise the value is lost or minimized. Workshops at first, but eventually career specialized training is essential for school coordinators (expanding this far beyond the presently limited training of distributive education coordinators, for example, to a whole range of cooperative education personnel). Special training for job supervisors, especially in public agencies (the example of the program for Municipal Cooperative Education Program in New York City is noteworthy) is of utmost importance. An important aspect of work experience, especially for disadvantaged students, is the contact with role models, workers who take an interest in them, help motivate them for success and for acquiring

the habits and behaviors which, for example, other minority group workers have developed in achieving a modicum of social status and economic security. Orienting such adults, other than supervisors, is an indispensable aspect of work-study programs, and yet this is usually dispensed with, unfortunately.